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ABSTRACT

A study examined the extent to which Canadian Indigenous teacher education programs (TEPs) reproduced the values and practices of a settler state or, postcolonial indigenousness. Data were gathered via surveys of 14 TEPs and site visits at 10 of them. Findings were contradictory. There was evidence of settler culture embedded in documents such as course outlines and university calendars that laid out the administrative process through which the unequal social relations of the state forced individuals to manage the state apparatus on a day-to-day basis. The structural limitations to developing a non-Eurocentric, anti-racist, culturally affirming technology were evident on an everyday basis. Despite glaring evidence of racism, there was no general effort to incorporate anti-racist education into the core of TEP curricula. Changes that TEPs have made recently help to ensure the creation of mainstreamed Indigenous teaching corps. Nevertheless, it was found that TEPs were programs with some autonomous cultural space and the extent of opposition to settler dominance lay in the people who staffed them. Examples are given of 10 programs that are working systematically to incorporate indigenous knowledge systems into their curricula and pedagogies. Yet all of these initiatives maintained an unequal relation to the dominance of mainstream teacher education curricula. It is recommended that those historically subordinated by settler regimes work together and with non-Indigenous critical teacher educators to effect change. (Contains 62 references.) (TD)

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Indigenous Teacher Education in Neo-liberal Settler Societies

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Indigenous Teacher Education
in Neo-liberal Settler Societies

I. Two Distinguishing Features of Settler Societies

Settler societies can be defined as those societies in which Europeans have settled, initially as land-holders, where their descendants have remained politically and economically dominant over indigenous peoples, and where a pluralistic society has developed in class, ethnic, and "racial" terms (Stasiulus and Yuval-Davis, 1995). Settler societies, from Australia to Zimbabwe, have some characteristics in common. One of these is the prevalence of the colonial cultural myth of *terra nullius*, that is, the notion that Europeans came to a relatively empty land. Certainly, according to this myth, there was no pre-existing social or legal order. Thus, the indigenous peoples did not already have sovereignty over their territories, for they were nomadic hunters with no political or legal organization (Richardson, 1993). The myth also extends to the idea that the development of modern society as we know it has been pretty well inevitable and that First Nations people have by now basically lost the culture they once had. Furthermore, despite the unfortunate paths of history, in the long run Europeans brought lasting benefits to the overall and long-term benefit of indigenous peoples.

This myth is one of those that has had fairly good lasting power, yet remains a myth. In fact, the caloric value of bush foods produced by the James Bay Cree, for example, was nearly four times greater than that available in stores today (Feit, 1995). Nor did indigenous people simply haphazardly take advantage of natural resources made easily available to them. Rather, they consciously nurtured and managed their lands. The Dunne-za (Beaver) in the Western Subarctic, for example, used intensive burning to keep areas adjacent to rivers as hunting-suitable parkland and prairie habitat (Ridington, 1995). The Cree were familiar with cultivated plant food and agricultural techniques through their contacts with the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa, amongst others, who sustained a rich agricultural economy on the upper Missouri River (Carter, 1995). The Blackfoot were seen to be growing tobacco by the

earliest European fur traders (Ibid.)

Forms of land ownership and control were also prevalent. Cree elders served as stewards of specific hunting territories (Feit, 1995). Amongst people of the British Columbia plateau, kinship groups within each band exercised ownership over resources and strictly regulated access to them (Hudson and Furniss, 1995). The Tsimshian on the West Coast administered clan lands through the chiefs, each of whom inherited control over a specific territory with the name of his maternal uncle (Anderson, 1995). Thus, forms of land ownership exercised through intact political structures did in fact exist before 1492. The significance of these facts for the argument developed in this article will be demonstrated below.

The state has historically been used as a principle means of establishing settler societies. In Canada, for example, the plains Cree recognized as early as the middle of the 19th century that, with the disappearance of the buffalo, they would have to make adaptations to and take advantage of the encroaching agricultural economy. (The capacity of indigenous people to make adaptations to changed environmental and technological conditions, something they had *always* done [Morrison and Wilson, 1995], is another reality denied by the myth of *terra nullius*. However, despite promises made during treaty negotiations at the behest of indigenous negotiators, indigenous peoples hopes were disappointed. In the process of reserve land selection, for example, the earliest instructions to surveyors was that care should be taken to ensure reserve lands "should not interfere with the possible requirements of future settlement, or of land for railway purposes" (Quoted in Carter, 1995, p. 452).

Farming by reserve residents in the 1870's was almost impossible because the machines, tools, and livestock provided through the treaties were inadequate. Ten families, for example, were required to share a single plow. During the difficult agricultural times of the 1880's, the Indian Act legally excluded indigenous people from acquiring homesteads. They were thus unable to make loans. They were also prevented by law from selling, exchanging, bartering, or giving away any produce

grown on their reserves without the permission of department officials. Nevertheless, agricultural production on reserves basically improved during this period. I will not go into Indian Affairs Commissioner Hayter Reed's deliberate policy of arrested development of reserve farming lands, begun in 1889, except to say that the policy intended to reduce First Nations people to the level of peasants by eliminating any access to modern technology. Nor will I detail the deliberate reduction of productive Blackfoot cattle raisers to the level of surplus labour during the 1920's. Suffice it to say, in Sarah Carter's words, that "the economic viability of reserve communities was deliberately eroded by the dominant society, mainly through government policies" (Ibid., p. 466).

In British Columbia, Indian cattlemen raised stock on common range lands open to all ranchers (called a commonage) south of Vernon until access was curtailed, largely due to pressur from non-indigenous ranchers (Hudson, 1995). A provincial law of 1870 allowed any male over 18 to occupy 320 acres of land, but specified that "such right of pre-emption shall not be held to extend to any of the Aborigines of this continent" (Quoted in Stasiulis, 1995, p. 115). Indian cattlemen drove stock from Keremeo to Princeton for second grazing until they were stopped by curtailing their access to "free range" (Hudson, 1995).

Thus, settler society in Canada, as elsewhere, was consciously created, in part by racist and exclusionary policies of federal and provincial governments, as well as the collective action of Canadian settlers as private citizens. However, this only tells part of the story. A second characteristic of all settler societies is that immigration policies have been historically and consistently racist, tied often to the supply of various forms of unfree and/or coerced labour (Stasiulus and Yuval-Davis, 1995). As well as the well-known exclusionary immigration policies exercised against Japanese and Chinese, amongst other immigrants, Black men were effectively denied access as settlers to Alberta while White Americans were sought after as members of "an intelligent, progressive race" (Quoted in Stasiulis, 1995, p. 113). Thus, both non-European/non-Caucasian immigrants and indigenous peoples were

subject to oppression and exclusion by White settler regimes.

II Indigenous Education Before and After Settlement

Just as settler societies in general have had significant global similarities, so the history of indigenous education should be understood in its global context. Historically, state policy for indigenous education in Canada has been defined in relation to the particular interests of the dominant power within the world-system at that time. During periods of contest for hegemonic authority over the world-system, indigenous education policy has been partially determined by the general character of dominant ideology and economic relations. In early colonial times, for example, the requirements of mercantilist trade and the contest for hegemony between Britain and France required the subjugation of autonomous indigenous nations in order to further the expansion of the fur trade and develop military alliances (Wallerstein, 1980; Wotherspoon, 1991). A Eurocentric cultural technology, based in part on the assumptions of *terra nullius* was brought to bear through the settling agents of Church men and women. What formal education existed "became the tool of cognitive manipulation, used to disclaim tribal knowledge and values while validating the confiscation of tribal wealth" (Battiste, 1986, p. 37).

While much work has been done (e.g.Barman, Hebert, and McCaskill, 1986) to demonstrate the colonial and therefore inherently political nature of indigenous schooling in Canadian history, the politics of teacher education has by and large escaped scrutiny. Yet at precisely the time when First Nations people were being systematically excluded from opportunities to develop productively as agriculturalists, and as residential schools were being brought on stream, indigenous teacher education *was* an aspect of settler state strategy. The first university institution in Saskatchewan was established in 1883 in order to produce "a trained band of Interpreters, *Schoolmasters*, Catechists and Pastors who, being themselves Native to the country would be familiar with the language and mode of thought of the people" (quoted in Littlejohn and Regnier, 1989, p. 6) (Italics added).

Thus, in the context of Western expansion into the prairies and "religious imperialism" (Wotherspoon, 1991, p. 258), indigenous teachers familiar with the "mode of thought" of their kin would be trained to advance the mutual interests of Church and state. The college soon collapsed.

Following World War II, the United States rose to its zenith of world economic power. American "development" policies in the Third World were based on modernization theory, which held that third world countries were underdeveloped because they had not caught up to the stage of development of most advanced capitalist societies. In fact, modernization theory served as the ideological formation supporting the penetration of American imperialism into local Third World communities (Hoogvelt, 1982). Meanwhile, Latin American states were guided by the formation of "indigenist policies" (Stavenhagen, 1983) directed towards indigenous populations. The indigenist policies attributed the social and economic underdevelopment of Indian communities to

> their traditional, non-modern culture, to their resistance to change, in other words to their Indianness. Progress would be achieved through culture change. Indians were to be "integrated" into national culture (p. 9).

Indigenism, then, can be seen as a application of modernization theory to indigenous populations. Indigenism was used in Canada after 1946, when a Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons conceded that the government's educational policy for Indians heretofore was an "unqualified failure" (Frideres, 1988, p.35) and recommended that whenever possible Indian students should be schooled together with non-Indians. In 1951, the national government began to make financial agreements with provincial and other authorities for Indian children to attend private and public schools educating non-Indians (Barman, Hebert, and McCaskill, 1986).

The decade of the 1960s saw the rise of new neocolonial governments in much of the world, as well as the resurgence of revolutionary movements and successful revolutions, student unrest in much of the advanced capitalist capitalist world

(including Canada), civil rights, Black Power, and anti-war movements in the United States, and militant Quebec nationalism in that province. In Latin America (Stavenhagen,1983), the United States (Cornell, 1988), and Canada (Frideres, 1988), indigenous people were forming militant social movements.

It is clear that the agency of indigenous parents and children, as well as the practices of teachers within the institutions for indigenous education over time, has also had important determining influences on Canadian indigenous education policy formation. Thus, no review of the early history of Canadian Indian education can ignore the resistance and self-conscious action which was a continual feature of that record. (See, for example, Haig-Brown, 1988). Ex-pupils persisted in returning to their cultural ways and even played leadership roles in the defence of their rights to practice traditional religions (Gresko, 1979; 1986). On some occasions, brutality against students caused indigenous parents to withdraw their children from a school (Titley, 1988). On others, parents reacted to rejection of their children from public schools by taking their children to residential schools (Barman, 1986).

It is critical to understand that resistance to state practices and polices for indigenous education was not based on simple rejection of "White" education in defense of an essentialist and self-reifying "Indian way", as common sense analyses might have it. Indian people did not abandon intentions or efforts to adjust to new realities in education anymore than they had new economies(Stevenson, 1991). In fact, it was the fur trade companies themselves which excluded indigenous people from access to literacy in order to protect the mathematics of profit maximization (Bourgeault, 1989). What indigenous parents and students resisted were the particular forms of schooling they received, characterized as they were by Eurocentric efforts to undermine any sense of indigenous cultural integrity, by practices of brutality and neglect, and generally by efforts to restrict access to schooling beyond training for subordinate class positions in society (Stevenson, 1991; Wotherspoon, 1991). Persson's (1986) account of the history of Blue Quills situates the local struggle within the context of her observation that "Indian

resistance to educational imposition by church and state (is) no sudden phenomenon, but rather a persistent theme in Indian education in Canada" (p.150). Nontheless, the political energy produced by "the 1968 revolution" throughout the Western industrialized world (Arrighi et al., 1989) can be seen as one contributing factor to the Blue Quills sit-in.

The position of the National Indian Brotherhood (N.I.B.) in its policy paper, *Indian Control of Indian Education*, to D.I.A.N.D. in August, 1972 was succinct. "What we want for our children can be summarized very briefly: to reinforce Indian identity; and to provide the training necessary for making a good living in modern society", the N.I.B. said (1984, p. 133). indigenous people were thus *linking* demands of a national movement for an educational system which would facilitate rather than restrict the possibilities for a distinctly indigenous consciousness, on the one hand, *with* the demand of a class-based organization for equality of access and opportunity within the educational system (Arrighi et al., 1989; Livingstone, 1983). The two fundamental aims both resonated with the long history of Canadian indigenous denial and exclusion in Canadian educational institutions. These major goals broadly place the demands of Canadian indigenous people at the time within the tradition of national movements historically and on a global scale. Reviewing antisystemic social movements in modern world history, Arrighi et al. (1989) observe that

> the national movement. . .defined. . . oppression as that of one ethno-national group over another. The ideals could be realized by giving the oppressed group equal juridical status with the oppressing group by the creation of parallel (and usually separate) structures (p. 31).

indigenous leaders sought to be included in a modernized management of the state apparatus which would provide equal treatment to Indian parents with their non-indigenous fellow citizens. With reference to the object of this study, the N.I.B. demanded that "the federal government ... take the initiative in providing opportunities for Indian people to train as teachers and counselors" (1984, p. 143). The demand, already being realized on a small scale in British Columbia and the

NWT (Nyce, 1990), led to the formation of twenty-four indigenous teacher education programs across Canada, now known as TEPs.

This section has shown that indigenous education has been historically underdeveloped and marked by a Eurocentric and racist cultural technology. Schooling for indigenous people has always been offered or restricted in some relation to the dominant economic and ideological requirements of rule and capital accumulation, or as a reflection of contest for power in the world-system at the time. More specifically, policy in indigenous education has corresponded to the dominant state's overall strategy towards colonized indigenous peoples - - a strategy developed out of the shifting roles perceived for them. Yet indigenous people, have not been silent about the schooling of their children. The demands which gave rise to the unique formation of TEPs in Canada were based on two principles: (a) support for schooling to improve the material conditions of indigenous existence; (b) national democratic control and an end to Eurocentric and racist exclusionary practices. The following section will show that the expression of these underlying aims, however, has been limited by indigenous accommodations to the hegemonic discourse on schooling constructed by the dominant apparatus of the state.

III TEPs as Settlement Institutions?

I completed a case study of the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program (SUNTEP) in 1993 (Hesch, 1993). SUNTEP is officially a program of the ostensibly Metis-controlled Gabriel Dumont Institute (GDI) in Saskatchewan. As part of my research, I conducted interviews with two people who had long had important associations with Metis affairs in general and theGabriel Dumont Institute in particular. Whether the voice was of a conservative Metis bureaucrat, in the case of GDI Executive Director Christopher Lafontaine, or a politician and organizer, in the case of Wayne McKenzie, those concerned with the operations of SUNTEP seemed to share a view that SUNTEP graduates had not contributed sufficiently to the betterment of their people. Christopher Lafontaine observed:

> We want dynamic advocates in the classroom, questioning the status quo. We're not getting them. We're getting people buying into the status quo. . . .They're indigenous people, but. . .they have no sense of what the community needs. . . .They're there and they know their role. . .to do what they're told. They know how to play the game (personal communication, 11/25/91).

Wayne McKenzie had the same sort of concerns:

> What are (SUNTEP graduates) teaching? Political and cultural awareness? Our people are just as poor, just as unskilled. When you consider the number of people in trouble and their lack of rights, we're not doing too well (personal communication, 10/10/91)

McKenzie placed the responsibility for this condition to some extent on the institution which Lafontaine administered: "Whether you're developing new curriculum as a political right or promoting government programs is two different things" (personal communication, 10/10/91). Both Lafontaine and McKenzie signalled a political problem: Whose interests do the TEPs serve? Are they producing, as Jorge Noriega warns with reference to American Indian education, "so-called 'Indian educators' who are completely sold out, and whose business it is to see that the next generation of Indian children grow up just like them" (1992, p. 392)? In other words, in what ways, if any, does the program of a TEP reproduce the values and practices of a settler state or, on the other hand, post-colonial indigenouss? Much of the balance of my study was given to detailing the contradictions and conflicts between the ideological and structural limitations of the program, on the one hand, and the role of staff and students' agency within the program on the other. The description was not simply a matter of binary opposition, either, as elements of SUNTEP were seen to hold promise and possibility, while both students and staff were subject to cultural and ideological limitations.

In the fall of 1995 I began an inquiry into the operations of TEPs nationally with an interest in learning more about the general conditions of these organizations as role players in the context of Canadian teacher education. I wrote to every TEP in the country, as well as programs training such indigenous educators as early

childhood education specialists, counsellors, and language instructors. I asked for documentation about their programs as one stage in developing an accurate picture of TEPs current position in relation to what I continue to see as a crisis for the TEPs. In May, I travelled to the sites of ten (10) TEPs for discussions with key individuals and the seeking out of still more documentary material.

In brief, the crisis is created by the kinds of challenges posed by Lafontaine and McKenzie, on the one hand, and the present restructuring of teacher and university education in Canada, on the other. My methodology in this stage of my research was based on the assumption that the process of ruling which the state helps accomplish is achieved through "the documentary mode of management" (Ng, Muller, & Walker, 1990, p. 316). For example, such documents as course outlines and university calendars lay out the administrative process through which the unequal social relations of the state force individuals to manage the state apparatus on a day-to-day and local basis. The relations, practices, ideologies, and discourses referred to above are crystallized and concretized through the material substance of, in this case, course outlines, stated admissions criteria, evaluation schedules for student field experience, and so on.

My findings were contradictory. The first set of documentary materials I received from fourteen organizations provided some clarification as to why the observations of Lafontaine and McKenzie are the way they are, at the same time that they provide hope that new cultural technologies are being developed which challenge the legitimacy of the settler state. For those who work within TEPs as First Nations educators or their non-indigenous allies, the structural limitations to developing a non-Eurocentric, anti-racist, culturally affirming technology are evident on an everyday basis. Elements of a settler cultural technology, embedded in the state documents I reviewed include:

• Some courses and/or programs institutionalize professional values uncritically by asserting, for example, that "A major difference between professionals and non-professionals lies in the commitment to maintain professional standards"

(Administration of Early Childhood Education course outline, n.d., p. 1). The ideology of professionalism (Densmore, 1987; Ginsburg, 1988; Larson, 1977) can encourage prospective educators to distance themselves from supportive engagement with the everyday difficulties of their students. Maintaining a "professional distance" can also further alienate students who already view the institutional personnel as Other. The effects of dressing and acting "professionally" can also be to distance teachers from working-class or permanently unemployed parents.

- More than one program offers courses such as "Human Growth and Development" utilizing standard textbooks and with no evidence that cultural power or cultural differences are recognized. One course outlined a series of possible research topics, every one of which was a disease.
- When material was available which listed academic courses which students are required to take, the difference from conventional programs for non-indigenous students may only be, at best, that specific Native Studies courses, for example, are written into the program of studies. Thus, while an indigenous Literature course may be required, for example, it is not within the power of the TEP to question or challenge the content of a Canadian Literature course, which may also be required. This can have the effect of marginalizing or lowering the perceived status of the indigenous Literature course. The problem exists in relation to non-academic courses as well. For example, there is no evidence that a course intended for the development of basic Math skills pays attention to ethnomathematics or critical mathematics literacy (Tate, 1996).
- There is no consistent evidence that selection of students for the programs pays attention to the potential of the student to contribute to the communities from which they have come or the indigenous community in general. Thus, selection criteria might be strictly dependent upon academic performance measures and references from existing or former school employers with, possibly, a requirement to show "potential as a role model." We might ask, whose role model? Or, a model of what

values and behaviours?

- Most programs control only a substantial minority share of the total courses in their program (e.g. twenty per cent in the NITEP case), and thus depend on the good will and welll-meaningness of usually non-indigenous teaching personnel for anything other than settler conceptions of "good teaching" or non-canonical content.
- Often, when elders are used in the program, it is as resource people. Thus, they necessarily serve as "add-ons" to a core curriculum not of their making.
- Despite the glaring evidence of racism as both an historical condition for indigenous peoples, and also for TEP students in their everyday and academic lives (See the following section), there is no general effort to incorporate anti-racist education knowledge into the core of the TEP curriculum.
- Some of the best practices which exist in TEPs, such as SUNTEP(Prince Albert)'s SUNTEP Theatre have been shifted from being elements of the core curricula to being extra-curricular activities.

IV Campus racism and TEP students

One problem is sufficiently basic and profound that it deserves attention on its own. One of the first studies on TEPs nationally reached the conclusion that there perceptions of TEPs on campuses across the land held "(A)n automatic assumption that . . .it is watered down" (More, 1980, p. 36). This "watered-down" finding was corroborated ten years later with Grant's [1990] research into the two Manitoba TEPs. First Nations have always been adamant that their teacher education programs be credible, quality programs that produced competent, qualified teachers (Hesch, 1993; Nyce, 1990). Indeed, TEPs have been formally reviewed by Pepper (1988), Richert (1987), and Hikel (1994), in each case with generally positive results. That is, there has not been an evaluation of TEP programs to substantiate this common (Archibald et. al, 1995; Hesch, 1993) perception. The negative assumption makes sense only if we account for campus racism.

In their research with NITEP graduates, Archibald et. al (1995) conducted both surveys and focus group discussions. In the focus group discussion, graduates

were asked to identify "barriers to success." Over one half focused on racism, including both racism from instructors and racism due to historical legacy, i.e. school background providing low skill development. With reference to instructors, the specific problems were the instructor's expectations of failure in First Nations students, a failure by the instructor to accept the validity of the First Nations' student's own experiences, and the insistence of the non-First Nations instructor on the validity of her or his own knowledge and perception (Archibald et. al, 1995). Another dimension of racism identified in the Archibald study which echoes Hesch (1993) is tokenism and stereotyping (every student a cultural expert).

The informants developed a consensual statement which reads:

> A First Nations person attending UBC has to deal with issues of individual identity vis-a-vis (a) the First Nations community of which they are a part, (b) the academic community, and (c) processes of legitimation of knowledge that both the academic and First Nations communities incorporate. Those processes may be generalized in macrosystemic terms, but they are acted out between people, face-to-face. Because of systemic racism, this can be a painful process. The pain is personal and individual, yet a shared phenomenon. The processes are effected in a social context in which the balance of "legitimacy" is accorded the "authority," the people with the power in this context, the instructors. The exercise of racism is personal and transpersonal as well: it is personal and individual at one level (i.e. perpetrated in individual action) and shared (i.e. the systemic pervasiveness may make well-meaning individuals unconsciously "racist.") First Nations students should be prepared to face this when they come to campus (p. 85).

Certainly, the inclusion of a Native Studies major in students' programs has provided an important psychological buttress to the effects of racism for indigenous students (Archibald, 1995; Barber, 1986; Bouvier, 1984; Degen, 1985; Hesch, 1993; Moore-Eyman, 1981). As well as the positive effects on personal identities for defending against the psychological damage caused by racism, Bouvier found that as a result of the major:

> The students. . .made personal gains which they feel have made them better persons. There is an air of confidence that they as teachers can now reflect more accurately their history and their people (1984, p. 68).

While we can assume that racism as an historical and social phenomenon is inherently recognized in many Native Studies courses, there may be a need to investigate the extent to which indigenous students are being formally trained in the emerging cultural technology known as anti-racist education. Based on the observations made in this and the previous section, however, there is ample evidence that TEP students may be trained in a cultural technology derived from and appropriate for settler societies.

V. Whither the TEPs?

Structurally, the general direction which TEPs have taken in recent years offer still more cause for concern. TEPs have tended to increase the length of their programs . One has increased in length from four years to five (Nyce, 1990). In her survey of TEP administrators across Canada, Nyce found that "Increased length of program" was the single most mentioned change, by 29% of the respondents she surveyed for her UBC Master's thesis. Between 1979-80, the proportion of TEPs offering degree programs increased from 38% to 60% (Nyce, 1990). Further, three of the "changes" which Nyce (1990) identifies as having occurred in TEPS since their formation in the 1970's are these:

(i) As the proportion of degree-granting programs increased, the proportion of non-degree granting programs decreased;

(ii) A marked increase in the number of graduates exiting from programs with degrees and a corresponding decrease in the number leaving with certificates or diplomas;

(iii) A rise in the proportion of students registered in degree-granting programs.

To some extent, this condition exists due to the programs' structural interrelation with existing university programs, which has always been at least somewhat the case. To some extent, the change is due to students' individual responses to labour market conditions and desire for professional status.

Satzewich and Wotherspoon (1993) describe the operations of varying state programs in developing class fractions within indigenous communities so that

while privileged minorities are produced to assist in the process of neo-colonial rule, the majority of indigenous people continue in conditions of material impoverishment. Despite his often patronizing comments, Menno Boldt (1994)also expresses concern about the specific content of state policies and practices and whether those which are ostensibly in the interests of self-determination, for example, are really serving contrary purposes. All of the objective data concerning changes in TEPs offered above will help insure the creation of mainstreamed indigenous teaching corps.

If these trends remain unchallenged, it is the most marginalized members of the indigenous communities who will be the first excluded from TEP programs, especially as broad government policies with reference to post-secondary education take effect. The consequences of this are at least threefold. First, the selection of SUNTEP graduates from the more privileged or acculturated fractions of the Metis or Cree population helps ease their transformation into membership in an indigenous middle-class. Second, since the punishing conditions of TEP life affect single mothers disproportionately, this route to indigenous women's social advancement will still be structurally biased towards men. Third, it is many of those people who are most personally familiar with schooling's exclusionary practices who will be the least likely to work with children in classrooms. This limits the possibility of the TEPs producing "role models" who can work from intimate knowledge of some of schooling's first victims.

Nevertheless, within all of these limits the TEPs *are* programs with some autonomous cultural space and they are constituted as much by the agency of the historically constructed subjects within it as by the boundaries, limitations, and state regulations which both externally and internally work to produce hegemony. The power of indigenous people to negotiate with agents of settler society from a position of self-conscious knowledge and some collective power have been recognized above and explicitly detailed in a more general sense by Olive Dickason (1992). Essed (1991) and Cochran-Smith (1994) remind us that anti-racist movements

have always existed, and that White people have contributed to these, as allies.

Ralph Miliband argued that:

> Were it not for the discrepancy between hegemonic message and lived reality, there would obviously be much less need, or no need at all, for the unremitting assault on popular consciousness. . . .As it is, the discrepancy between rhetoric, even when backed by real concessions, and reality as it is lived, does provide a very large terrain for counter-hegemonic endeavours (1990, p. 347).

In my case study of SUNTEP, staff worked from a progressive non-racist, or social reconstructionist, perspective (Liston and Zeichner, 1991). Staff person Rita McBride planned her work to encourage students "use of imagination for visualizing things differently". Staff member Maureen Kistock engaged in practical work in her Communications course, based on her commitment to "work with students in a way that they can (both) play the game of the system and build in the desire to change that system." SUNTEP instructor Floyd Stavanger used the cultural technology of a critical dramatist to reveal "the political power of drama in expressing one's concerns, one's opposition." Co-operative student work was a hallmark of SUNTEP formal and informal pedagogy. Dialogue was central to courses taught by SUNTEP staff. Place was given for the expression of students' observations concerning the conduct of everyday classrooms and, as student Carole Trottier phrased it:

> (W)hat should have happened differently, what could have happened differently. . . .(A) lot of the beginning work was just our building our philosophy sort of, asking us continuously. . ."What do you think it should be like?"

The SUNTEP experience and potential, however, is not isolated, but rather can be contextualized within the emergence of a non-hegemonic and anti-Eurocentric discourse in indigenous post-secondary education, a discourse represented by the published writing of First Nations intellectuals and the move towards hiring First Nations faculty and inclusion of indigenous content and courses in the TEPs (Nyce, 1990). Thus, at Canadore College in North Bay, Ontario, the Anishnabe Circle on Education works as a fifteen-member group of indigenous

leaders to "identify and articulate priorities" with the "authority to approve or veto the design, development, and implementation of. . .Anishnabe education and training programs" in order to ensure "our cultural survival and sovereignty" (Terms of Reference, n.d., p. 1). Nearby, at the Nipissing University Faculties of Education and Arts, indigenous faculty member Terry Dokis supports the same structural relation and teaches an (optional) course designed, in part, to share "Native cosmological thought and spirituality" (Native Option, n.d., p. 1).

In Northern Saskatchewan, the Northern Teacher Education Program (NORTEP) , under the authority of a Council elected at the community level, prepares teachers for both elementary and secondary schools. One of the criteria for selecting prospective teachers is fluency in a Northern language. Courses attend, in part, to "education in the context of colonization" (NORTEP, n.d., p. 6). Within this context, twelve of thirty-two required courses have specific relevance to First Nations people and culture, including one which provides "An historical native perspective on infectious diseases", in which "Students will be expected to complete community based projects" (Ibid, p. 32). Efforts have been made to reproduce the NORTEP model for the TEP in the Yukon.

Initiatives in indigenous post-secondary education, including TEPs, are supported and influenced by the theorizing of First Nations scholars, academics, and activists in education like Joanne Archibald, Jeanette Armstrong, Marie Battiste, Sharilyn Calliou, Laara Fitznor, Eber Hampton, Verna Kirkness, Madeleine McIvor, George Sioui, Carl Urion, Lena Odjig White, and others. In articulating an indigenous epistemology which is "tied to language and to the elders", in part, Battiste has claimed that:

> Western society's refusal to acknowledge or respect tribal knowledge and its attempt to force tribal children to accept a different knowledge base and a different way of knowing that is sanctioned by government and its agencies is what I call cognitive imperialism (1993, pp.3, 8).

At the Native Language Instructors' Program at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Lena Odjig White worked towards a biculturalism which adapted the

standard practicum to the traditional Medicine Wheel and "encompass(ing) the Seven Teachings of the Seven Grandfathers of the Anishnaabe Nation" (Student Teaching, 1995, p. 2). Other course adaptations are also apparent throughout the program's documents. In Southern Alberta, the Kainaiwa First Nation's Red Crow College has a mandate "to combine our ancestral wisdom and knowledge with the information, technology and skills which are necessary for a quality life in the present and future (Community Based, n.d., p. 1). Goulet (1991) has shown how program planners at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College have actually succeeded in doing that. Possibly the most well-developed approach to a biculturalism which provides real power to indigenous educators and community leaders, and *systematically* incorporates elders' knowledge is in Saskatchewan, with the Meadow Lake Tribal Council's indigenous Child and Youth Care Community-based, Culturally Sensitive Education Program. Here, the Tribal Council, working in collaboration with University of Victoria faculty, have produced a Freirean approach to incorporating community and elder knowledge in the training of child care workers at the same time that they have contributed to community development (Meadow Lake Tribal Council, n.d.).

My tour across most of Canada did much to inform and reinforce this general conclusion that the hope for TEPS as non-hegemonic institutions in opposition to settler dominance lies in the human agency of many of the people who staff them. In NITEP, critically conscious and proud indigenous women staff most positions or influence the program through its association with the First Nations House of Learning. In NORTEP, a Math methods instructor makes explicit use of a text on North American indigenous mathematical knowledge, while the staff as a whole continues to infuse more and more of its core content with indigenous knowledge. SUNTEP Theatre continues to produce in Prince Albert, standing in the view of this experienced writer, as one of the best examples of anti-racist pedagogy in the nation. The SIFC program continues to generate new courses which reflect indigenous epistemologies. A recent book on this theme is explicitly marketed through the TEP

increased repressive state control (Teeple, 1996), conditions will worsen for non- and counter-hegemonic TEP teacher/activists. Throughout settler societies, state administration is professing the practice of site-based management of schools while centralizing control over what counts as good teaching through such practices as certification tests for new and experienced teachers. In this context, what chance is there for creating systematic efforts based on alternative conceptions of "good teaching"? Already, cutbacks mean that NITEP, for example, can no longer afford to produce their "think-ins", biannual events which provided opportunity for careful reflection on the direction and content of their program. SIFC has been unable to launch a secondary teacher education program, thus being restricted to a glass ceiling typical of TEPs, and also being prevented from producing new teachers for new programs in Native Studies and Native Languages throughout the province.

In their efforts at producing programs and teachers with alternative, non-settler agendae, indigenous teacher educators will find "uncertain allies" (Cochrane-Smith, 1994) amongst a cohort of non-indigenous critical teacher educators (Britzman, 1991; Ginsburg and Lindsay, 1995; Liston & Zeichner, 1991; Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1991; Young, 1995). These non-indigenous will be both members of other racialized communities as well as oppositional descendants and beneficiaries of settler traditions. While anti-racists in this critical community will benefit, be encouraged, and be strengthened by the experience and insights of non-Eurocentric indigenous educators, their history and *praxis* of working for change in teacher education as a field of its own may be of use in collaborative work with First Nations educators. While the structural limitations seem daunting, in the end, we return to the unremitting presence and promise of Miliband's "reality as it is lived" as the fertile soil from which the struggle for a self-determining and anti-racist teacher education can continue.

located at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Ontario. The program at Queen's University makes use of new Science and Math curricula produced by curriculum writers at Akewesahsne First Nation, curricula which are produced to model First Nations ways of knowing and being. Yet all of these initiatives maintain an unequal relation to the dominance of the mainstream teacher education curricula.

Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1990) argues that:

> Decolonizing pedagogical practices requires taking seriously the different logics of cultures as they are located within asymmetrical power relations. It involves understanding that culture, especially academic culture, is a terrain of struggle (p. 196).

Through specific efforts at "uncovering and reclaiming subjugated knowledges" (Ibid, p. 185), that is, by working systematically to incorporate indigenous knowledge systems into their curricula and pedagogies, indigenous post-secondary programs are part of an anti-racist, post-colonial discourse (Dei, 1993) which contradicts those settler practices etched into existing practices and policies.

Yet there is an absence of explicit anti-racist work in the literature on indigenous education (Archibald et. al, 1995), while anti-racist educators are only beginning to address issues in a way which can incorporate the agendae of indigenous activists. Substantial cross-fertilization here is due. This is, in a sense, a natural alliance as those historically subordinated by settler regimes come together in opposition. For example, indigenous educators can work in communion with Afrocentric educators and educational movements in their commitment to "immersion within the traditions, consciousness, history, and culture. . . . (and) eliminate(ion of) Eurocentric hegemony in curriculum" (Murrell, 1993, p. 232), and are objectively part of the struggle against campus racism. In this, they pose a challenge to the universalistic positivism of many teacher education programs.

Again, however, indigenous education in settler societies has always been influenced by the current global political and economic context. In the context of a global neo-liberal politics of cutbacks, erosion of human rights reforms, and

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